

The University of Chicago

THE CZECH NATIONAL REVIVAL
THE AGE OF ROMANTICISM

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

1932

By
JOSEPH CHADA

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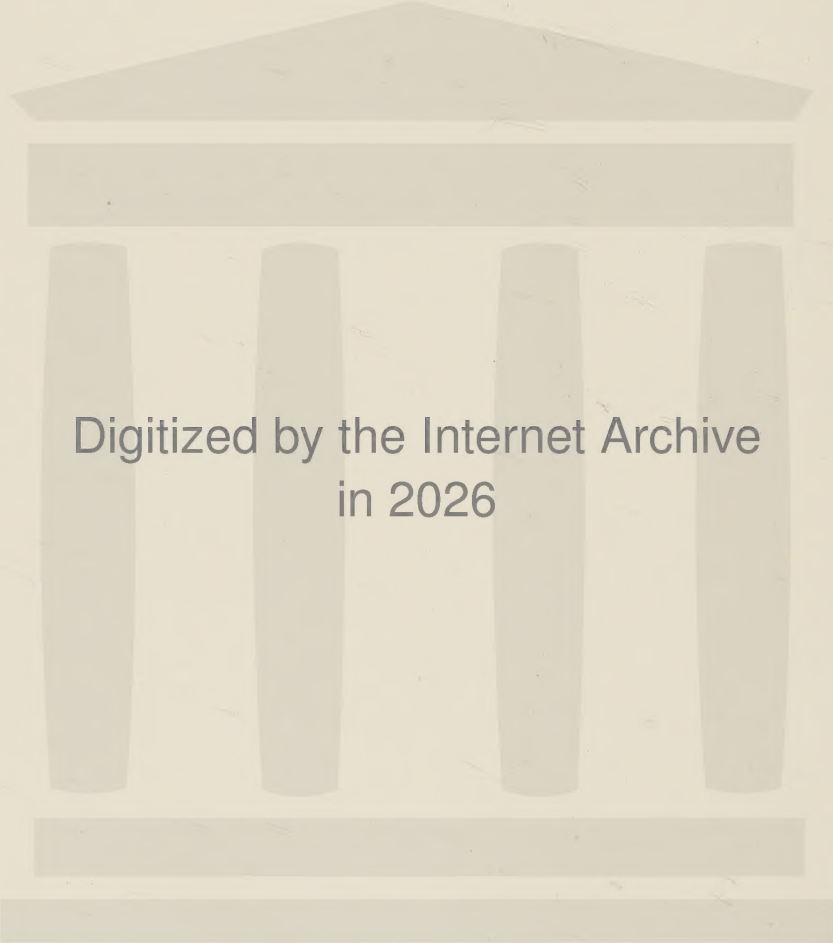
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Abbreviations Used

Čes. Čas. Hist.	Český Časopis Historický. [Czech Historical Review]
Čes. Čas. Mus.	Český Časopis Musejní. [Periodical of the Czech Museum]



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CHAPTER II

THE BOHEMIAN REVIVAL IN THE AGE OF ROMANTICISM

The age of Joseph II was a time in which the Czech nation discovered itself. It was a period of endeavor on the part of the scholars to renovate the vestiges of old Czech culture and to rebuild the national language by the use of philological principles. While occasional influences of popularity penetrated it, the era was one of ponderous learning, critical philosophy, and strict rationalism that held itself quite aloof from the masses, restricting its influence to its own stratum of erudition and intellectualism. All its learning, however, could not dispel a certain anxiety for the future, for after all there were few who labored to save the Bohemian people from the tremendous onslaught of Germanization. Dobrovský, the leading light of the early revival, had on several occasions expressed his misgivings; only old age convinced him that "Providence guided and designated the fate of all nations" and that the Czechs were "self-sufficient because they were endowed with the same abilities through which the Viennese asses sought to rule the world."¹

Those who were to follow the old sage in the revivalistic activity could not agree with this optimistic expression. The Wars cut short all national endeavor. The epoch that followed to 1848 fully identified the history of the Bohemian Crown with the general social and political developments then obtaining in the

¹Dobrovský to Durych, November 24, 1795 in K. Híkl, Listy českého probuzení (Prague, 1920), 35-37.

Hapsburg dominions. The ultra-conservatism that flourished throughout Central Europe and depended upon an extensive system of police and espionage also enveloped Bohemia. Czech liberalism faced the same difficulties with the Metternich régime as had its prototypes in Vienna and Budapest. Suspicion and surveillance cursed the existence of the officials, and professionals and student classes. Censorship burdened the Czech press, and constant, petty meddling disturbed the educational system.

Fortunately for the Czechs, the reactionary policy of the government of Metternich was not aimed directly at the nationalist revival. Indeed, even during the Napoleonic era, the Court had not always followed a course of rigid interference, for in 1812, John Hromádko, a professor of Bohemian at the University of Vienna, obtained permission to publish his Royal and Imperial Czech Journal of Vienna. Besides its news columns the Journal also contained a supplement on fine arts and literature. With the aid of some of the lesser leaders of the revival, Hromádko was able to publish several translations of classic poetry and some original cultural and scientific contributions.¹ Hromádko's activity acted as a link of the transitional period between the Classic and the Romantic ages. He was more important as a conservator of things already done than an original contributor. A large measure of his significance also lay in training a group of Bohemian students.

Politically, affairs in Bohemia had shaped themselves differently for the Czechs. The stiff centralization of the Enlightenment had relaxed considerably. The court though reactionary was not thoroughly absolutist and administration was divided between the ruler and the estates. Upon the urging of some

¹Horace, "Satires," Journal, II, (1814) 152.

"The Wonders of the Universe," Journal, I, (1813) 50.

"Geological Changes," Journal, II, (1814) 5.

of the Bohemian nobles, Metternich was considering a reorganization of the state along federalist lines. How he might effect such a plan did not occur to him; nor did he care, for, as long as Austria led in the German Confederation she was safe enough from any undue domestic disturbances, and that was the Chancellor's chief consideration. In later days, however, Metternich still believed that something ought to be done to bind the provinces to Vienna more closely. At one time social reforms and the defense of the lower classes appeared to him as most feasible. At another, he thought of endowing the provincial diets with more power and identifying the interests of the estates with those of the court. None of these plans came to fruition, first because of Metternich's own lack of sincerity, secondly, because the Chancellor's policy was strongly affected by the complex of Austrian dissolution. While it was not wholly chaotic, the government which Metternich guided was indefinite. It had no plan for the future, existed on custom and tradition, and spent its time meeting exigencies and tiding over them as well as it might.

In this atmosphere of petty censorship and political stagnation the second phase of the Bohemian revival had begun. This movement was really a continuation of the old, which had started in the Rationalistic Age. Its activities, however, were wider and more varied, growing from philological research to history, from history to politics, and from politics into intelligent nationalism, led by a few well-selected leaders and supported by the entire mass of Czech population. Its guides in the successive stages were Joseph Jungmann, Francis Palacký, and Charles Havlíček. The source of its existence was Romanticism allied with the nationalistic principles of the French Revolution. Like its predecessor, therefore, the new revival from 1815 to 1848 secured

material and assistance from all possible sources. It cultivated philology, history, literature, and science but, unlike the enlightened age, directed and manipulated these towards a Czechization and popularization of the revival. Until now the rebirth had been limited, save for the drama and popular literature, to the educated classes. It had remained a field for the scholar, since it satisfied his craving for research by the richness of its unexplored material. Its medium had been Latin and German, which only the scholars and scientists could understand. The reawakening of the romantic era, on the contrary, requested the patronage of all classes. It insisted on using Czech in public and literary circles and for that reason continued to develop the language by enlarging upon the efforts of Dobrovský and his school. Its philosophy came from the Germans, particularly Kant and Hegel; its historiography copied Ranke, and its idealism, based fundamentally on the veneration of the Middle Ages, grew out of the profound respect that Romanticism had for that age.

While the Enlightenment saw the most complete union of social organization in the state, Romanticism identified it with the nation and made it an object of special veneration. The idealized feeling of kinship, the common language, cultural traditions, and faith were developed by an intensified research. History, which in the last half of the eighteenth century was sort of antiquarian study, now became the motivating force of the revival. Its special field was the Middle Ages, for there it reached the roots and the beginning of all that was indigenous to each individual nation. With this cult of the past, history was also associated with other arts and sciences, such as archeology, folklore, literature, and poetry, the task of which was to revive as far as possible, native characters and to blend their findings

in one composite picture of cultural and historical development of the people and the nation.

In its nature Romanticism was revolutionary. It denounced the literary rules and formulae of classical times. It enriched its languages with many new and colorful terms often disregarding the scrupulousness of enlightened philology. It imbued all of its creations with life and imagination. Its buoyant and radical spirit was tempered by nothing, save by the respect it held for national traditions and by the religious mysticism to which it particularly gave rise. To the Czechs these characteristics of the movement arrived through Germany. Like Austrian Romanticism, the Bohemian phase was a direct copy of the German; hardly any of the French or English traits were present in it. This was due to several causes, most important of which were the facts that Bohemian mythology furnished much material for the German Romantic scholars, that the Czech students found it most feasible to study at Göttingen, Bonn, and other universities across the northern border and that Goethe was worshipped by the Bohemians for his sympathetic attitude towards the Bohemian revival.¹

Though Czech Romanticism copied much from the German, it is an error to say that it followed the latter slavishly. The Czechs applied the lessons they learnt from their neighbors practically. They imitated foreign models only when these aided the task of reviving the nation. As an illustration, the Bohemian philologists chose to adopt the rules and regulations of German language-study because these were universal. The literati copied the folk songs, tales, and lyrical poetry, because the latter

¹A contemporary tells us that Goethe was so stirred by the Queen's Court manuscript that he began to learn Czech and to translate some of his smaller poems into Bohemian. Malý, J., Náš Probuzení [Our Rebirth] (Prague, 1880), I, 22, 34.

agreed very much with the Czech. The Panslavic ideal, propagated in Bohemia, grew out of the Rongermanic complex, assiduously cultivated by the student societies and by the various groups of patriotic Germans. Bohemian historiography abandoned enlightened hyper-criticism for ready acceptance of anything which proved the antiquity of the nation and which supported the spirit of national enthusiasm at the price of truth and accuracy.

Czech Romanticism began at no definite date. While it appeared full blown after 1820, its origins reached back to the eighteenth century.¹ On the other hand, many of the men and principles of the Enlightenment were yet alive; some of the former, such as Joseph Dobrovský, still exercised a potent force in the shaping of revivalistic principles. If anything characterized the Romantic Era, it was the work of its representatives: Joseph Jungmann in philology, John Kollár in Slavistics, Francis Palacký in history, Paul Šafařík in archeology, Joseph Čelakovský in poetry, and Charles Havlíček in journalism and politics. In the sphere of their activity and in the efforts of their followers were contained those traits which when rounded out and summarized

¹The following volumes and articles deal with the cultural and political events of the Czech romantic movement: Černý, J., Boj za právo [The Struggle for Right] (Prague, 1893); Denis, E., Cechy po Bílé Hoře [Bohemia after the Struggle of White Hill] (Prague, 1902); Denis, E., Les Slovaques (Paris, 1917); Helfert, J. A., Wiederaufleben der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur (Vienna, 1883); Kalousek, J., Česke státní Právo [Czech Constitutional History] (Prague, 1892); Leger, L., La renaissance tcheque au dix-neuvieme siecle (Paris, 1911); Malý, J., Nase znovuzrození [Our Rebirth] (Prague, 1880); Lützow, F., Bohemia (London, 1915); Masaryk, T. G., Česka otazka [The Czech Question] (Prague, 1908); Masaryk, T. G., Nase krise [Our Crisis] (Prague, 1895); Murko, M., Deutsche Einflüsse auf die Anfänge der böhmische Romantik (Graz, 1897); Monroe, W. S., Bohemia and the Czechs (Boston, 1916); "Cechy" [Bohemia] Ottuv Slovník Naučný, VI, [Otta's Czech Encyclopedia] (Prague, 1908); Pekar, J., Dejiny Československé [The History of Czechoslovakia] (Prague, 1922); Skene, A., Entstehung und Entwicklung der slavisch-nationalen Bewegung in Böhmen und in Mähren im XIX Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1893); Susta, J., Dve knihy Českých dějin [Two Books of Czech History] (Prague, 1919).

formed the second and the last phase of the Bohemian revivalistic epoch.

Joseph Jungmann, the initiator of Czech Romanticism, was a contemporary of Dobrovský and a student of the Enlightenment.¹ Unlike the latter, however, he was susceptible to romantic influences and after 1815 fell completely under their spell. In the services of the Czech revival Jungmann became first known as a poet, then as a translator and publicist, and finally as a literary critic and philologist. Throughout all his work ran a strong nationalist strain which soon singled him out as the leader of the patriotic party and made him a rallying point for all the early romanticists.² Jungmann's poetic effort drew its source from the German. By this imitation he sought to introduce a new form of meter into Czech poetry in opposition to the poetic dictates of Dobrovský and his school. A more fertile field of contribution to the cause of the revival lay in Jungmann's translations of foreign masterpieces. While these were to serve as models for Czech poetry, they had an esthetic effect in introducing into Bohemian literature examples of great poetic variety. Philologically they had an immense influence as well. Translating such works as Milton's Paradise Lost, he was compelled to search for new words and phrases which might do justice to the text. In

¹Jungmann, J., Slowjik česko-německý [A Czech-German Dictionary] (5 vols.), (Prague, 1835-1839); Jungmann, J., Zápisky [Memoirs] (Z. Tobolka editor) (Prague, 1907), Hlkl, 40-72, Malý, *passim*, Palacky, F., Spisy Drobné [Miscellaneous Letters] (Prague, 1898); Chalupný, E., Josef Jungmann (Prague, 1912); Literatura česká devatenáctého století [Czech Literature of the Nineteenth Century] I, 624-712, II, 203-269 (Prague, 1917); Rybička, A., Přední křesťané národa českého [The Foremost Revivalists of the Czech Nation] 127-131, 133-135, 137-141, 219-222, 252-254, 300-304, 384-386 (Prague, 1883).

²Such is found to be the case in comparing the poetry of M. Z. Polak, J. Kollár and F. L. Čelakovský with that of Jungmann. His apostles in the scientific fields are found on pages following.

contradistinction to the enlightened philologists, he selected suitable roots and terms of other Slavonic languages, such as Polish and Russian, and did not hesitate to employ archaisms or to coin new words. Most of these were established to remain. Jungmann's journalistic activity which was chiefly nationalistic, often appeared in popular periodicals, and occasionally in serious publications. In an article, published as early as 1806 on Concerning the Bohemian Language, he had laid bare his entire concept of the revival. In this he binds nationalism to the language and the literary and cultural achievement of a given group as forces that make towards common traditions and development, and insists on an evolutionary plan of a systematic extension of Czech to all people living in Bohemia. Not only is the field of literature to be cultivated in Bohemian, but the use of the language must also extend to science, history, politics and all occupations of life.

To produce a history of literature that all classes might read, Jungmann published in 1825 the Historie literatury české [The History of Czech Literature]. This work modelled after Dobrovský's Geschichte discussed all the Bohemian authors and literary productions up to Jungmann's own day. Its description of Bohemia's literary and cultural epochs was deeply imbued with the spirit of Romanticism. It praised nationality and language, described the primeval times and the Middle Ages of the nation in fantastic phrases, and emphasized mythology and folklore. While the History contained many anachronisms, it possessed the virtue of being thoroughly patriotic and was not superseded until well after the Revolution of 1848.

The greatest contribution that Jungmann brought to Bohemia was the publication of his five volume Czech-German dictionary,

issued from 1834 to 1839. It was not merely a register of words but also a systematic treatise on the historical and grammatical development of the language with a view of its relations to the other Slavonic idioms. "Relying upon a minute knowledge of all preliminary effort in the field of dictionary compilation and a thorough understanding of antiquities and having at hand numerous dialectical contributions of his friends, Jungmann created a work of such scope and magnitude as required the efforts of entire academies of scholars in the case of other nations."¹ Palacký described it as a labor long awaited and the corner-stone to all Czech literature.² Its compilation required the use of oral and written sources, contemporary and historical, an examination of numberless manuscripts, and an inquiry into the Russian and the Yugoslav languages. Its effect was greatly stimulating, for the entire nation saw in the Dictionary a proof of its strength and an example of the high degree of its contemporary scientific advance.

As a scholar, Jungmann was far more prominent than as a public individual. His teaching in the gymnasium, the repressive censorship to which he often had bowed, and the atmosphere of suspicion and uncertainty in all of the Austrian lands made him a cautious, retiring spirit.³ Yet he was the first of the leading revivalists who had publicly proclaimed his conviction that Bohemia would endure culturally and politically.⁴ He substan-

¹Novák, J. and Novák, A., Průhledné dějiny české literatury [Historical Survey of Czech Literature] (Prague, 1921) p. 131.

²Palacký, "Slovník českoněmecký Josefa Jungmanna." [The Czech-German Dictionary of Joseph Jungmann] Spisy, III, p. 645.

³Jungmann's attitude towards the tyrannical procedure of the Austrian police is portrayed in Malý, I, pp. 9, 17, 19, 23, 43, 50, 52-56.

⁴Jungmann in his article of February 9, 1910, Čas. Čes. Musea, LIV, (1881) p. 508.

tiated his claim when he taught the Czech to think in the terms of an old established state and to speak and act in the methods of a modern nation. His death in 1847 became the occasion of great patriotic manifestation in Bohemia and in foreign countries where Czechs lived.¹ Jungmann developed a school that propagated the characteristics of its founder. It fostered the cause of the Bohemian revival and preceded by example in using the Czech tongue on all occasions and in all walks of life. Among those belonging to the group were John Presl, John Purkyň and Adalbert Sedláček, whose fame as scientists will be discussed in another connection.

The exhortations of Jungmann urging the Czechs to take pride in their nation, the examples of Germany and France, and the fervent desire to demonstrate that the Bohemians were equal to any other nation in the Middle Ages led to a vast falsification the existence of which gave cause to endless disputes and bitter wranglings up to our own day. On September 16, 1817, Venceslaus Hanka claimed to have found in the cellar of a house at Kralové Dvour Queen's Court twelve parchment slips and two rolls containing examples of early medieval epic and lyric Czech poetry.² Some of the themes were mythical or allegorical, and

¹Maly, I, p. 38.

²Ibid., I, pp. 17-18. Cf. Literatura, I, 845. Palacký, "Nejstarší památky literatury české" [The oldest Relics of Czech Literature] Spisy, III, pp. 547-549, Palacký, "Poznámky of Kralovédvorském rukopise" [Notes on the Queen's Court Manuscript] Spisy, III, pp. 549-557.

On the nature of the dispute that the debate over the authenticity of the Manuscript had raised, see: Palacký, "Rukopis Kralovédvorský" [The Queen's Court Manuscript] Spisy, III, pp. 557-569. This is a response written by the historian in 1858 in answer to denials of the paper's genuineness on the part of certain Austrian scholars. The next year, 1859, Palacký was again forced to defend the Manuscript, this time from a very able attack of Max Budinger in Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, I, (1859) pp. 87-111, where Budinger had published his "Die Koniginhofer Handschrift und ihre Geschwister." Palacký replied in the same number of the Zeitschrift, p. 111 ff.

others historical. In form they represented a highly developed medieval Bohemian.¹ From the place of its discovery, the collection was known as the Queen's Court Manuscript. In 1818 Hanka discovered another set of papers apparently even older than the first and descriptive of the earliest parts of Czech history, legal customs, and pagan practices, proving a high degree of Bohemian civilization as early as the ninth century.

In Bohemia the discoveries were greeted with considerable acclaim. They were printed and reprinted in Czech and practically every other European language within the next score of years.² Historically they had value as witnesses of a splendid social, cultural, and legal development of the Bohemians in the earliest times. For literature they held importance, inasmuch as they revealed many new words, phrases, and forms of poetic composition. Before their authenticity was denied their themes formed the bases for study in poetry, mythology, art, and music. No less were they a source of patriotic inspiration and enthusiasm. In brief, until they were proved falsifications by foreign philological research, they were one of the great motivating forces of Czech nationalism of their time.

Once foreign scholars expressed doubt in the genuineness of the Queen's Court and Green Mountain (the name of a second set of papers found by Hanka) Manuscripts, a passionate fight over their authenticity began at home. Out of the struggle that lasted almost a century and that engaged practically every prominent individual, the opinion was finally reached that the manuscripts were manufactured by the two romantic poets, Venceslaus Hanka³ and

¹See Palacký, III, pp. 549-557.

²Ms. of the Queen's Court (trans. Bowring, Sir John) (London, 1843).

³Literatura, I, pp. 713-785; Rybička, pp. 113-117, 127-133, 383-385, 410-412.

Joseph Linda.¹ Hanka, particularly, had already falsified documents but never on a scale so large as this. Just how many of the Czech literati at the time knew about the scheme is doubtful. Some believe that even Jungmann was in the secret. Regardless of this, the manuscripts created much excitement at home and abroad, imbued the Czechs with a greater feeling of nationalism, and for a time at least served as models in the evolution of new types of literature.²

The growing interest of the lower classes in the revival and the effort made to popularize nationalist activity more completely necessitated organizations through which the agitators might work. This demand was answered by the establishment of the National Museum and of the two literary and publishing societies, the Matice České [The Czech Mother] and the Dědictví Svatojánské [The Legacy of St. John].³ The museum was founded upon the pleadings of Jungmann in 1820. Its sponsors were the Bohemian Chief Burgrave, Count Francis Kolovrat Liebstein and Count Caspar of Sternberg,⁴ who organized "The Society of the Patriotic Museum" in Bohemia.⁵ Like "The Private Society" of Dobrovský's days the

¹Literatura, I, pp. 785-810.

²Hrubý, V., Čes. Čas. Hist. XXIII (1917), pp. 1-37, has the ablest and most concise study of the wrangles concerning the manuscripts.

³In Moravia similar institutions arose but vegetated for a long time, partly due to the fact that the Moravian estates were more German than Czech and partly because at this time certain separatist tendencies had appeared in Moravia.

⁴Palacký, "Život hraběte Kašpara Šternberka of něho samého sepsaný" [The Life of Caspar Sternberg, Written by Himself] Spisy, III, pp. 487-488, also Palacký, F., Leben des Grafen Kaspar Sternberg (Prague, 1868).

⁵Palacký, beside writing a number of articles and memoranda concerning the establishment of the Museum and its operation, see Spisy, III, pp. 290-306, also wrote a brief history of the institution to 1841 which traces its fortunes in the apparently difficult beginnings. Spisy, III, pp. 306-325.

General histories of the Museum are the following: Nebeský, V., Dějiny musea království českého [The History of the Museum of the Czech Kingdom] (Prague, 1868). Hanus, J., Národní museum a naše obrození [The National Museum and Our Rebirth] (Prague, 1921).

group at the museum began by cultivating natural and industrial sciences and neglected culture and history. For this reason several of its more patriotically inclined members fell away. It was due to the agitation of Jungmann, who asked the nobles for the establishment of a department in the museum that would study Czech humanism and culture and to the foundation of the Periodical of the Museum, the latter chiefly through the efforts of Francis Palacký, that social, cultural, and political phases of Bohemian history received greater consideration and that the society became more or less a humanistic organization.

The Matice Česká, as a literary foundation had also its development in the earliest days of Romanticism. Its real founder and guiding spirit was again Palacký, who in 1830 obtained royal permission to organize a society of writers and editors which became the protégé of the "Society of the Museum" and was known as "The Association for the Scientific Development of Czech Language and Literature."¹ The association had a double function, first, to prepare materials necessary for a publication of a Bohemian encyclopedia and, secondly, to encourage the writing of good Czech literature in the literary and scientific fields. For this purpose, the Matice determined to issue a Libraire of its own publications. This it divided into four branches as follows: The Old Czech Library, with a function to edit and publish chronicles and old books of merit, The New Czech Library, to be a sort of channel for the dissemination of contemporary literature, The Library of

¹In his "An die Freunde und Beförderer der vaterländischen Literatur," Palacký says that Bohemia needs such an organization as the Matice to prevent the domestic publication and a foreign infiltration of poor and unnecessary literature. This new organization is to become an institution in propagating good literature by means of endowments. In a report in the activity of the Matice in 1840, Palacký reiterates the statement above and reports on those who have contributed materially to the work of Matice. The

Classics, and The Encyclopedic Library of scientific contributions. In 1831 a publication fund was established and by its means many an important Czech volume was printed and many an author supported financially. The St. John's Legacy resembled the Matice, except that its management rested, for the most part, in the hands of the clergy and that its publications were of a religious nature. Occasionally it issued books of national and revivalistic kind.¹

Journals and periodicals also ranked as popularizers and educators of the revival.² In 1824 Joseph Linda printed what might be considered the first journal typically romantic, The Prague News, which like Hromádka's publication became the depository for all labors of the early romanticists.³ In 1843 F. L. Čelakovský became the editor of the Prague News for a year. His great literary ability and esthetic feeling raised the prestige of the paper and made its literary section one of the famous re-

nobles hold an important place as subscribers. Palacký, "Matice česká--Ku vzniku Matice České" [On the Origins of M. C.], III, pp. 338-342, *Vlastencum národní literatury naší milovným* [To the Patriots Supporting Our National Literature], III, pp. 343-346, *Zpráva o Matici České* [A Report on the M. C.] III, pp. 347-349.

¹Malý, IV, p. 34.

²For the nature and history of the early romantic periodicals Malý, I, pp. 34-38, Novák and Novák, pp. 147-151. For publishers and publishing houses: Malý, I, pp. 38-43. *Květy*, Malý, I, p. 67. Palacký, "Časopisové čestí," [Czech Newspapers], *Spisy*, III, pp. 656-663; Also Palacký to Archduke Stephen, December 23, 1845, *Spisy*, III, pp. 518-519.

³The literary and scientific efforts had an eminent representative in John Nejedlý's quarterly *Hlasatel* Recorder published during 1806-1808 and 1818. In this magazine Nejedlý maintained the high critical standards of the Enlightenment. He himself, together with Dobrovský were the last prominent members of the classical age in the early romanticist times. Nejedlý, unfortunately, could not muster so great a following as his genius deserved, because of his pragmatic and tactless spirit, which enmeshed him in any number of acrid disputes with his contemporaries.

corders of Czech and Slavonic poetry.¹ Because he had incurred the displeasure of the government, Čelakovský lost his position, and the News vegetated until the Revolution of 1848, when it became a conservative journal of the Court party. As a rival to the News and its supplement, there also existed in Bohemia the magazine Květy [Blossoms], which after a prolonged life as a regular journal was transformed into a literary periodical and edited intermittently between 1834 and 1845 by the romantic dramatist Joseph K Tyl. The Květy harbored the work of the younger romanticists and unlike any other Czech magazine paid for contributions accepted. Its popular style and broad interest increased its circulation continually. Before 1848 it became a political publication and died in the storm of the revolution. The Czech clergy, whose patriotic attitude commanded respect, also had their periodical in the Časopis katolického duchovenstva [The Periodical of the Catholic Clergy], established in 1828. Its many articles were devoted to the revival and the position of the priesthood towards it. It propagated the use of Bohemian, and many a sermon text was found in its columns. After the forties, the Časopis lost some of its cosmopolitan outlook, devoting itself to things more exclusively religious; nevertheless, it continued to be an important agent in the revival.

Bohemia had two scientific journals in the romantic era. One was the Časopis českého musea [The Periodical of the Czech Museum] the other Krok [The Step]. The Periodical answered the necessity of the nationally patriotic popularizing activity of the "Society of the Museum." Palacký was its founder, becoming the

¹There were other periodicals issued off and on during the romantic age in Bohemia. Each usually had its own school of poets and representatives, but all were temporary publications passing off either through the lack subscribers or because of rigid demands of the censor.

editor in 1826. Since the provincial Bohemian administration decided to subsidize the paper, it was agreed that the Periodical should be issued in two sections, the German and the Czech, each appearing as a separate magazine. In 1827 the Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen and the quarterly Časopis společnosti vlasteneckého museum v Čechách (The periodical of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia) saw the day of light together.¹ The Monatschrift, because of a lack of subscribers at home and abroad, led a precarious existence from the beginning and disappeared in 1832. The Časopis, however, met with unusual success, partly because of the fact that it was printed in Czech and partly because all of the learned Bohemian world took an active interest in it.

In the publication of the Krok, (1821-1840) Presl, its editor, followed the suggestions of Jungmann, who insisted that it was necessary not only to Czechisize culture and literature but also Bohemian scientific endeavor. Krok devoted itself exclusively to geography and natural sciences. It became the representative of the scientific inclinations of the Jungmann school, and in its articles attempted to fill up the gap left in the sum and substance of Czech knowledge by the lack of an encyclopedia. Linguistically, Krok was important, establishing a Bohemian scientific terminology. Until its disappearance, it received contributions from the scientists and doctors of Bohemia.

The practice begun by Jungmann of searching for and

¹Since the Periodical was a creation of Palacký and existed under his leadership, the most authoritative description of its origin and work is found in Spisy. Palacký to Count Sternberg, December 27, 1825, III, pp. 256-270. His defense of the Periodical against attack of jealous rivals whom he constantly had to fight is found "Slovo vlastencum od redaktora" A Word to the Patriots from the Editor, Spisy, III, pp. 271-277. It is significant and yet disheartening that at this time when all energies are directed to the work of the revival that Palacký must say "Czech literati of recent years must be accused of discord Many of our authors . . . have refused to participate in contributing to our periodical." Spisy, III, p. 277.

selecting words and roots from Slavonic languages for use in his translations became a custom among many of the writers of the Bohemian revival. The study of words developed into a study of Slavonic literature, and knowledge of the latter led to a cultural understanding which eventually terminated in the political idea of Panslavism. The Panslavic spirit really was nothing new, for in the Enlightenment individuals like Dobrovský and Durych cultivated it,¹ and from the activity of foreign Slavic students and scholars it was fairly well developed. Romanticism, naturally, added to its glow and fascination, especially when Herder had painted such an admirable picture of the Russians. Czech Romanticism found Panslavism of varying degrees. While Jungmann had shown a mild inclination towards the establishment of literary relationships between the Slavs of the North and East, his friends like Marek and Hanka, had developed quite a liking for the Russians, seeing in them, as some of the Poles had, the hope and salvation of all the Slavonic peoples and subordinating the idea of Czech nationality to a new Slavonic nation whose language was to be built out of Pole, Russian, Serbian, and Bohemian.²

Most of this new Panslavic agitation was incorporated in the writings of the great romantic Slavophil, John Kollár,³ a

¹ Such was the purpose of Puchmayer's Bibliotheca Slavica antiquissimae dialecti communis et ecclesiasticae universea Slavorum gentis, which when begun was to contain eight volumes of Slavonic letters and antiquities. Only one volume, however, was published in Prague, 1795. Dobrovský's activity in this respect is designated by his Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris (Prague, 1782) and the Bildsamkeit der slavischen Sprache (Prague, 1799).

² Hayes, Carlton, "Herder and the Doctrine of Nationalism," Amer. Hist. Rev., XXXII (1927), pp. 719-736.

³ Malý, I., pp. 56-59, Masaryk, Česká otázka, pp. 39-74. Čapek, T., The Slovaks of Hungary (New York, 1906) Chaps. II and IV; Bidlo J., Dejiny Slovanstva [The History of Slavdom] (Prague, 1927), Passim., Fischel, A., Der panslawismus bis zum weltkrieg (Stuttgart, 1919), Passim.

Protestant pastor who had studied for the ministry at Jena and preached the Gospel in his native Slovakia.¹ "The enlightened theology of the Jena theologians, the idealistic philosophy of the Kantian Friesse and the teachings of the nature philosopher, Oken, the romantic historiography of the German patriot, Luden, and particularly the romantic nationalistic activity of the Jena students, who in the spirit of the Wars of Liberation had become intoxicated with the idea of political freedom and Pangermanic unity - all of these had created Kollar's nation of universality."² The study of Slavonic antiquities in Germany had no less influence on him, so that when he returned to Slovakia he had already established contacts with the leading Czech scholars for a domestic propagation of Slavic life and ideals. While Kollár wrote much as a publicist and poet and had published a number of nationalist sermons, his greatest contribution to things Slavic was his epic Slávy Dcéra [The Daughter of Slava].³ This lengthy work was inspired by his German wife and modeled on the writings of Dante and Petrarch. In the Daughter of Slava, Kollár wandered through the historic lands of the former Elbe Slavs, portrayed their history and their downfall and showed where the hopeful and happy signs for Slavonic future lay. His picture of the old Slavs was idealistic and hence, in the lack of any exact knowledge, uncritical, overdrawn, and even false. His enthusiasm got the better of his analysis, but as in the case of Mickiewicz, the great Polish

¹Kollár, J., Paměti z mladších let života, sepsaný od něho samého [Memories of Younger Years, Written by Himself] (Prague, 1863) Malý, Passim., Jungmann to Kollár, April 22, 1828, Hlkl, pp. 42-43; Kollár, J., Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti [Discussions Concerning Slavic Reciprocity], M. Weingart, Editor) (Prague, 1929).

²Novák, p. 151.

³Kollár, J., Slávy Dcéra, (ed. Jakubec, J.) (Prague, 1903).

poet and patriot,¹ his aim was directed to the goal of giving life a definite purpose, in this instance of reviving the strength and prestige of old Slavdom.

Kollár made the Slávy Dcéra and his other efforts a means of Slavonic and nationalistic expression.² He relied upon the Slavs to bring peace to Europe, for they were a young race free from all national hatreds and prejudices and retained the vigor of young people. To him no force was necessary to bring the Continental peoples together. The Slavs were unconsciously being merged and would eventually form a European union that would draw into it all other nations. Before this ultimate confederation should arise, each Slav was to prepare for it by learning at least four Slavonic languages. The countries should exchange professors and students, and there should be frequent meetings of representatives. Since his work possessed these propagandistic inclinations, it brought little that was new to art itself. Yet the very nature of his effort enabled Kollár to exercise great influence in the Czech revival and in the fashioning of the opinion of others. He contributed to his time by inspiring and proclaiming the spirit of self assertion. Next to the manuscript of the Queen's Court nothing had a greater effect in Bohemia than the Slávy Dcéra. Beyond the frontiers, the epic had its influence as well. It became the gospel of the Pan Slavist by its emphasis on Slavonic

¹Mickiewicz was a great Polish poet patriot, who with his love for things Slav did a good deal to awaken the Czechs, influence their men, and advertise their nation among all of the Continental countries. He was a great favorite in Bohemia. His poetry was marked by a dignified simplicity, music of diction, and a huge imagination. He also had the Pan Slavonic idea and propagated it among the Czechs. When he was appointed to the chair of Slavic at the College de France, he made use of the works of Dobrovsky, Safarik, and Jungmann. Máchal, J., "Mickiewicz a čechy" [Mickiewicz and Bohemia], Čes. Čas. Hist., IV, (1899), pp. 335-390, XXIV (1919), p. 165 ff.

²Cf. Jungmann to Kollár, April 1, 1832 and Jungmann to Kollár, April 26, 1836. Híkl, pp. 42-46.

relationships and also an encouragement of the doctrine itself. Mickiewicz said that the poem was extraordinary just because of its form. "Kollár sings of all the Slav nobles in it and depicts whatever there is political and whatever unites the Poles and the Czechs either in events or in places. This lends the epic a scholarly value. The sonnets which are like those of Petrarch often bring the Italian poet to mind, but Kollár's sweetheart, the daughter of Sláva, being more idealized becomes a legendary being This sweetheart about whom he sings, weeps over, and sighs to is Slavdom."¹

The national awakening of the Czechs was in no small degree reflected in a like movement in Slovakia.² Its course there, however, even as early as 1790 was not so smooth or so steadily progressive, for the enlightened scholars of that province were torn among themselves. The period of Czech exile after the Thirty Years War had seen great numbers of the intelligent middle classes of Bohemians settle in Slovakia. They found there a religious haven and were left unmolested in the use of their language, culture, and civilization. When the Enlightenment arrived, many of the descendants of the émigrés, as well as some of the Slovaks, had retained a high degree of culture and knowledge, which they were now ready to merge with the rationalistic influences coming from the West. Just then the break occurred. The Protestant Slovakia gathered about its center, Pressburg, had expressed an inclination to follow in the steps of the Czech philological and

¹Máchal in Čes. Čas. Hist., cited above, p. 386.

²The following references will serve to cover the entire movement and the men concerned in it, Literatura, III, pp. 301-501, Malý, Passim., Pražák, A., Dějiny spisovné slovenstiny po dobu Štúrovu [The History of Literary Slovak to the Days of Štúr]. (Prague, 1923), Palacký, "O Slováčích a postavení jejich k řeči a literatuře české" [Concerning the Slovaks and Their Position to Czech literature], III, pp. 729-740.

cultural regeneration. The Catholic Slovaks, on the other hand, refused any imitation and determined to reawaken Slovakia in the spirit of its native characteristics and in the use of some one of its own dialects. The more prominent Slovak leaders of the Enlightenment who fell into the Czech camp were George Palkovič, once a student of Jena, later a professor, man of letters, and editor of a literary magazine; Bohuslav Talbic, a Protestant minister and poet; George Ribay, a naturalist; Michael Samian, an historian; and Ladislaus Bartolomeides, a geographer. In the Slovak Catholic following belonged all those who had been educated by the Jesuits. Their leader was Anthony Bernolák, a dean of the church, school inspector, and a philologist. Bernolák saw in Slovakia a separate political and geographic unit, which merited its own literary language. He sought to prove his statement by a group of philological treatises and set out to organize a society whose function it would be to propagate a new Slovak language. Bernolák's contemporaries, however, did not take to this enthusiasm, and, while efforts were made in the path struck by him through his propagandistic organization, only a small number of Slovak writers followed his dictates in language for the time being.¹

Until the forties, the Slovaks upon the exhortations of Kollár, Šafařík and Palacký had maintained a lingual union with the Czechs. Just before 1848, however, Bernolák's attempts at the creation of a separate Slovakia were strongly revived in the per-

¹It is only proper to observe that Bernolák's school possessed an important Slovak author in John Holly, a priest who while following Slovak traditions closely and writing his poetry in the native language, belonged wholly to the Panslavist group of Jungmann's romanticists. Literatura, II, pp. 408-423.

sons of Ludevít Štúr¹ and Joseph Hurban.² It was not so much the fear of Czechization as that of Magyarization that induced Štúr to take this position. He felt that Hungarian expansion might be opposed only when all the Slovaks co-operated and was, therefore, eager to win the upper classes, until now lukewarm to any revival and bound in interests to the Magyars. Štúr began to emphasize the natural individuality of Slovakia, to stress its separate cultural evolution, and to denounce the acceptance of any other idiom but the native. Abandoning the dialect of Bernolák, he selected another, more different from the Czech than the former had been. Štúr's efforts gained the support from the court which saw in his activity an excellent means for breaking up Austrian Panslavism now waxing uncomfortably formidable.

Štúr was challenged by Palacký and Šafařík in 1845. On the other hand, he found many supporters and followers among his own people. Those who followed his tremendous literary and journalistic work were Joseph Hurban, Michael Hodža, Andrew Sladkovič, Samo Chalupka and others. In their revivalistic effort these authors closely imitated the Czech practices, in that they endeavored to stir up a Slovak national feeling and consciousness, rebuilt the past, wrote literature for the present, and engaged actively in political life. Their separatism, unfortunately, was a fatal mistake for the development of their nation. This they realized till 1867.

The freedom that Slovakia enjoyed religiously and the traditions of the émigrés were responsible, however, for the genius of John Kollár and for the existence of the two most eminent scholars of the Czech romanticism. Out of the descendants of the

¹Turcer, H., Štúr et l'idée de l'indépendance slovaque (Paris, 1913), Prazak, *passim*.
²Novák and Novák, p. 216.

émigrés living in Protestant Slovakia were born Francis Palacký,¹ the greatest of Bohemian historians and Paul Šafařík,² the founder of Czech archeology and an ardent Panslavist. Both of them were born on the Hungarian borders of Slovakia of Czech parents. Šafařík had been educated at Jena and in many affairs became the mentor of Palacký, who studied at the Lycée in Pressburg. The Lycée had gained unusual reputation for its philosophical and

¹The literature on Palacký, of course, is enormous. He, himself, wrote much. The following are the best volumes on the nationalistic activity of the man and on his historiography: Spisy Drobné (Edited by B. Rieger and L. Čech), (3 vols.) (Prague, 1898). These books contain all of the more important essays, letters, and memoranda concerning Palacký's work as a politician, esthetic, critic, friend of the patriots, and historian. In scope they cover much of what he wrote from 1816 to the time of his death in 1876. The boyhood days of Palacký and his early diary were incorporated together with his later life in Vlastní životopis Fr. Palackého [The autobiography of F. Palacký] (Edited by M. Červínková-Riegrová) (Prague, 1895). Palacký's letters and notes were collected and compiled in the Korespondence a zápisky Fr. Palackého [The Correspondence and Notes of F. Palacký] (Edited by V. J. Nováček) (3 vols.) (Prague, 1898-1911). For a reliable biographical source see Malý, J. article on Palacký in the Riegruv Slovník Náučný, Vol. VI of which encyclopedia Palacký himself was editor. The edition of Palacký's History of Bohemia used by the writer was the sixth, (six vols.), (Prague, 1904). The "Introduction" to the same contains an admirable short biography of the historian written by his contemporary J. Kalousek. Other works of perhaps smaller importance yet useful for the explanation of Palacký's career in its various phases are Pekar, F. Palacký (Prague, 1912); Chaloupecký, V., František Palacký (Prague, 1912); Historische Zeitschrift, II, IV, XV. These contain references and criticisms of the History, Foreign Quarterly Review, XX (1838) pp. 21-23, Goll, J., Vybrané Spisy [Selected Letters] (Prague, 1928); Masaryk, T. G., Palacký's Idee des böhmischen Volkes (Prague, 1899); Lützow, F., Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia (London 1905); English Hist. Rev., XXIX (1914), pp. 131-133, Heidler, J., "O vlivu Hegelismu na filosofii dějin a na politický význam programu Palackého" [The Influence of Hegelianism on the Philosophy of History and the Political Importance of Palacký's Program] Čes. Čas. Hist., XVII (1911), pp. 1-12, 152 ff, Literatura, II, pp. 51-62, Werstadt, J., "Politické dějepisectví XIX století" [Political Historiography in the Nineteenth Century] Čes. Čas. Hist., XXV (1920).

²Malý, Passim, Ottuv Slovník Náučný [Otta's Encyclopedia] "Pavel Šafařík", XXIX, 528 ff, Denis, II, pp. 208-209 Literatura, II, pp. 27-50, 424-485, Máchal, J., "Pavel Šafařík" Čes. Čas. Hist., I, (1895), p. 183 ff. Rybička, Passim.

esthetic teaching, and Pressburg lay in the midst of German, Hungarian, and Slavonic cultural cross currents. In their youth Palacký and Šafařík were stormy petrels, impatient with the slow methods and traditional ideas of the revivalistic scholars of their day.¹ They showed their desire to introduce new life into the reawakening by their dissertations, Počátky českého básnictví [The Beginnings of Czech Poetry] (Pressburg, 1818). This work and his philosophical inclinations brought Palacký into close contact with Joseph Jungmann.² In 1820 he became a friend of Dobrovský through a visit to Vienna and with the aid of the latter and that of Jungmann came to Prague in 1823.

At Prague Palacký was persuaded by Dobrovský to drop all of his former literary work and to devote himself to history. The old man introduced him to the Count Sternberg,³ who at once ap-

¹Such is the general tenor of the "Počátkové českého básnictví" [The Beginnings of Czech Poetry]. Palacký, Spisy, III, pp. 1-63.

The Beginnings were to infuse new life into Bohemian poetry and to eradicate it from literature dilettantism, Germanomania, indifference to cultural needs of the people, and the general feeling of sleepiness in the nationalistic spirit. They were a revolutionary proclamation of a youthful, strong, self-conscious, enthusiastic generation against its older predecessor with its ancient emaciated patriotism and its pleasure in archaic types of letters. Strangely enough one of the individuals against whom the work was directed had been of eminent help in getting Palacký to Prague, in teaching him critical history, and in introducing him to the nobles and influential citizens of the city. It was Dobrovský.

²Palacký to Jungmann, December 3, 1818, Hikl, pp. 76-79
Palacký to Jungmann, July 14, 1819. Ibid., pp. 79-81.

³Palacký, "Hrabata Kašpar a František Šternberk a jejich působení pro vědu a umění v Čechách" [The Counts Caspar and Francis Sternberg and Their Activity in Arts and Science in Bohemia], Spisy, III, pp. 449-486.

Palacký, "František hrabě Šternberk-Manderscheid" [Count Francis Sternberg-Manderscheid], Ibid., III, pp. 412-418. Beside these biographical sketches, there are many references in the Spisy concerning the activity with and contacts of Palacký with the Counts of Sternberg, who have proved very patriotic and who endeavored to gain a sort of leadership for their family among the Czech nobles at this time.

pointed him their archivist and in 1827 induced him to accept the proposition of the Czech estates to complete Pubiřka's Chronologische Geschichte Böhmens.¹ Palacký considered it impossible to continue Pubiřka's archaic Geschichte and obtained permission to rewrite the whole history. In 1863 appeared the first volume of the monumental Geschichte Böhmens.² Other volumes followed very slowly because of the difficulties with the censor, and by 1848 only a part of the third volume had been completed.³ In 1848 Palacký decided to translate into Czech and re-edit what he had already written in German and henceforth to write his History in the Bohemian. By 1876 five volumes of the Czech Dějiny národu českého v Čechách i v Moravě [The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia] were finished and Palacký's life work was ended. The Dějiny and their German translation traced the history of Bohemia from pagan times to 1520, when the Bohemian lands were fully acquired by the Hapsburg. Later than that Palacký did not dare to go, for fear that he might encounter serious difficulties from the government, and because the work itself, copied from

¹Pubiřka's History, written in the classical age, suffered from all of the errors of that period. It must, furthermore, be remembered that Pubiřka was relatively a pioneer in the field of Bohemian historiography. Judged by the standards of historical writing that had been developed since the History had been written, the work was very primitive and inaccurate. For that reason, Palacký, while he had undertaken to continue the work soon dropped Pubiřka entirely and started anew.

²For review of the same see: Foreign Quarterly Review, XX (1838), pp. 21-38.

³Palacký found great difficulties with the censor. All his carefulness seemed in vain, for the government found mistakes in everything. The History was constantly interrupted, and often he was forced to change his whole interpretation. When the work reached the Hussite period, no matter how careful the historian might be, the censor always found ground for intervening. Palacký was accused of raising hatred and dissatisfaction and was warned to avoid statements that might lead to a fight among the Austrian nationalities. On Palacký's own complaint of censorship see his Memorandum to Count Sternberg of October 16, 1831, Spisy III, pp. 270-271. Cf. Palacký to Kollár, January 22, 1824, Hikl, pp. 87-89. Maly, I, pp. 55-56.

sources which he had first to edit, completely wore him out.

Palacký's greatest literary activity in the revival occurred between his coming to Prague and 1848. It appeared that he was the center of all things. He became the archivist of the estates and began the Geschichte upon their order. He laid the foundations of the Museum and established its periodical. He became the secretary for the Private Society of Scholars and transformed the official language of the organization from German to Bohemian. To popularize reading of Bohemian books and to insure their publication he founded the Matice. All of this time he was supporting and encouraging hopeful scholars and men who showed promise in the development of the reawakening. Yet these multifarious activities did not keep him from travel in search of source material. After he had exhausted the archives in the Bohemian towns and castles, he spent much time in search for sources at Vienna, in 1835 at Munich, in 1837 in Silesia, and slightly later in Dresden and Rome.

In his Introduction to the Dějiny, Palacký had written: "From my youth, I have held no desire dearer and more edifying than to present my nation with a faithful picture of its past, a picture in which my people might learn to know themselves and from which they might be reminded of those qualities necessary for themselves at present."¹ He was, therefore, about to write an apologetic treatise, in an endeavor to find the Czech place in the sun and to fight the odium of Slavic racial inferiority which the German scholars laid at the door of Bohemia. In his first volume he conceived early Czech culture as an indigenous product affected little by Roman, Celtic or German influences but robbed of its greatness

¹Palacký, Dějiny (4 edit.) (Prague, 1904), I, p. 57.

by Magyar inroads. Volume II, was a discourse on the Premyslides. The historian discarded the many legends surrounding the family and incorporated within his historical narrative an essay on methodology. With Book III the heroic epoch of Czech history was begun. It was Palacký's story of the Hussites with whose acts he designated the genuine power and full strength of the Bohemian national spirit. He considered the Hussite era as an expression of idealism which carried the Middle Ages into the Modern Era. The Bohemians not only excelled other nations in liberty at that time but outshone them in culture as well. All Europe came to Prague to learn literature, science, and art.

"Bohemia dedicated itself to the development of mankind and won her merit and glory at the price of sacrifice and painful suffering.¹ The Hussite Wars became the first international struggle for things abstract, for spiritual goods, religious beliefs and truths."²

They initiated the first victorious resistance to the authority of medieval despotism. Yet their existence brought ruin to Bohemia by weakening it and rendering it an easy prey to the Hapsburgs.

Palacký based the former power of his nation and its reputation on a religious basis. While he did not expressly say so, the forces of Catholicism in his mind represented reaction, and those of Protestantism, progress. Czech culture was, however, the result of the process of giving and taking. It rose out of the action and counter-action of Roman, Byzantine, Teuton, and Slavonic forces. Palacký recognized civilization as being a Continental and not a national product. He based civilization on certain political and religious principles rather than on individual cultural and governmental achievements. Like the followers of Ranke,

¹Ibid., III, pp. 618-619.

²Ibid., III, p. 254.

he saw Europe as an organic whole, for "no nation was ever so completely individualistic as not to borrow from its neighbors."¹ Palacký wrote his History not only because he was asked to do so but also because he believed that nations, like individuals, may learn from history. In performing his task, he did a great piece of nationalistic work and prepared the field for others who might follow. In his labors he reflected himself, for, as Goll says, "Palacký's History is not only a mirror of the Czech past but also of the time to which his own spiritual development belongs."²

Notwithstanding the fact that it was to guide and educate the Czech nation by examples of moral and universal ideals,³ the History was not burdened with the usual faults of a pragmatic work. Indeed Palacký strove to match Ranke in his dispassionate historical method, a fact that might be verified over and again. In his review of Prince Lichnowsky's Geschichte des Hauses Habsburgs (Vienna, 1836) Palacký stated: "History must never become a subterfuge for the suppression of facts, nor should it serve any individual purpose. It has but one universal and sacred mission, by virtue of which it possesses unusual value and independence. It ceases to be our teacher, once we attempt to make it our maid."⁴ Still Palacký did not desire or consider pure objectivity possible. "Only inexperienced theorists can demand complete disassociation on the part of the historian and his material; indeed, there is hardly a great historian whose individual spirit is not reflected in his work."⁵ In short, Palacký conceived history as an unbiased teacher. His dictum became a motto for Czech historiography and political life and enabled the Bohemian statesmen to see more

¹Goll, Spisy, I, p. 98.

²Ibid., p. 184.

³Palacký, Spisy, III, p. 677.

⁴Ibid., p. 677.

⁵Ibid., p. 677.

clearly than all others the real bases of Austrian existence.

After a brief career as tutor and professor in the Slovakian towns, Palacký's friend, Paul Šafařík, had come to Prague in 1833. Though he was totally misunderstood and unappreciated in Slovakia, he had, like Palacký in his earlier years, spent much time in writing and study. From 1817 when he left Jena until his removal to Prague, he had collected material for his monumental archeological work Slovanské Starožitnosti [Slavonic Antiquities] (Prague, 1837). In order to earn a livelihood, he had been engaged in various occupations, editing magazines (notably the Journal of the Museum, 1838-1842) and writing for different publications. His patriotic romanticism had a strong dose of Panslavism, a condition developed by his early associations. His mystic dreamy, often naively enthusiastic nature, coupled with an immense trust in the glorious future of Slavdom, made him an individual resembling Kollár more than Palacký.¹ And yet, Šafařík was a great scholar whose erudition had induced the universities of Berlin, Moscow, and Breslau to offer him a chair of Slavistics. Šafařík, however, loved Prague and preferred to stay there. In 1848 the University of Prague appointed him to two places, the directorship of its libraries and an assistant professorship in Slavic philology; but, because of a mental disease, Šafařík soon gave up both situations and lived in private to the time of his death in 1861.

While Šafařík had written many valuable treatises on Slavic social and cultural history, especially before his arrival at Prague, his greatest masterpiece remained the Slavonic Antiquities. The purpose of that work was to present enough geographical,

¹On the admiration that Šafařík had for Kollár see: Šafařík to Kollár, February 14, 1821, H1k1, pp. 94-96 and Šafařík to Kollár, March 10, 1822, H1k1, pp. 97-98.

philological, and historical facts to show that the Slavs were an ancient European nation and had together with the Romans and the Teutons created the modern continental civilization. Historically, Šafařík treated his subject in two sections; the first portrayed the Slavs of prehistoric times to 476, the second dealt with history from 476 to 1000 and described the acceptance and the pre-dominance of Christianity among the Slavic peoples.¹ The picture was Herderian, showing the old Slav as a peaceful farmer, seldom warlike and always devoted to education and self-development. The Antiquities were an epic of Slavonic greatness, written as a defense against German disparagement of their eastern neighbors. Their influence in the Slav movement was as great as that of Kollár's Slávy Dcéra and they fully equalled Palacký's History in stirring up the spirit of nationalism in Bohemia. Soon after their publication the Antiquities were translated into Polish and Russian and brought to their author the reputation of being the greatest Slavonic archeologist and cultural historian. Most of Šafařík's deductions have since been changed and denied; yet the effort even today is admirable for its richness of facts as well as its clear, sincere, and popular style and its minute development of detail. In purpose the Antiquities, like Palacký's History, were apologetic. They fully reflected the gentle, emotional, yearning nature of their author. Šafařík had the intention of continuing to discuss the trades, art, music, and literature of the Slav, but he never effected his plan, since his time was taken

¹Prof. L. Niederle, the greatest living Slavonic archeologist, justifies Šafařík's division of material in his Antiquities. His trenchant criticism of Šafařík, however, shows that the latter after all was a pioneer who misunderstood many facts concerning the old Slavs, such as their separation, origins and so on. Yet Niederle holds respect for his predecessor, and Šafařík is revered by many. Niederle, L., Slovanské Starožitnosti [Slavonic Antiquities] (2 vols.), (Prague, 1925) Introduction, v.

up by philological disputes and other cultural occupations.

Šafařík, much as all the men of his time, also engaged in political life. He was, however, too gentle and retiring to make much of an impression, though his reputation as a scholar won him many listeners and considerable authority. The finest display of his mystic Slav character occurred at the Panslavic Congress. There his stirring welcome to the various delegates gave him full opportunity to express the meaning of that great Slavonic movement "under whose feet the ground quakes . . . before whom the godless hearts and the governments of bayonets and espionage fall to their grave and in whom the people clamor for the legacy given to them by God."¹ This was the last public pronouncement by the scholar. The reaction and absolutism following 1848 repelled him. Save for some articles hardly a word was heard from him again.

Of the minor learned contemporaries and nationalist co-workers of Palacký and Šafařík, the foremost were John E. Vocol, a Czech, and Anthony Boček and Aloysius Šembera, Moravians.² Vocol's activity on Czech antiquities and culture had little significance, since Vocol based many of his deductions on forged documents. Boček became the historiographer of Moravia. Though he endeavored to rival the reputation of Palacký, he lacked that great man's love and devotion to truth and was not always sincere in his patriotism. In imitation of Štúr, he supported separatist tendencies in Moravia and frequently did not hesitate to indulge in forgery and invention of facts and documents to reach his desired end. Šembera was different from his confrère. He strove to spread popular education, issued almanacs and books for the general reader and himself wrote considerably and successfully on culture and

¹Slovník Náučný, XXIV, p. 529.

²For Vocol see; Novák and Novák, pp. 175-177. On the Moravian writers see: Maly, I, p. 88.

civilization of the early Czechs and Moravians.

Czech Romanticism was responsible for the introduction and cultivation of the Bohemian folksong. Following the English and the Germans, notably Herder, the poets after 1820 collected and brought to light many popular songs. They gauged by them the power of poetry and culture of the Czech peasant and artisan and used them as models in the development of new Bohemian forms of verse, words, and roots. The founder of the folklore school was F. L. Čelakovský, who published three big volumes of the Slovanské Národní Písňe [The Slavonic National Songs] (Prague, 1822, 1825, 1827).¹ These volumes contained Bohemian, Slovak, Lusatian, Russian, and Serbian folk songs. To a degree, this compilation encouraged Panslavism, though Čelakovský's fundamental aim was to separate Czech poetry and letters from the German and French romantic imitations and to establish a basis for Bohemian literature that would be built of Slavic materials.

The models which he gathered from the folk helped Čelakovský to develop a poetic style and subject of his own. He became the Robert Burns of Bohemia, who sang of the commonplace in a playful, passionate, or care-free manner. His poetry reflected the Bohemian nature and was very true to life. He improved upon Kollár and his other colleagues by dealing with the real and evading the purely imaginative, for he was a romantic realist, who never sacrificed the present for the past. His love for the folklore did not postulate the idea that this was the highest type of literary achievement that his people might be capable of producing.

¹Palacký, "O ohlasu písní Ruských F. L. Čelakovského" ["Concerning the 'Echoes of the Russian Songs' by F. L. Čelakovský"], Spisy, III, pp. 612-616, Malý, 44. Bělý, F. Korrespondence a zápisky F. L. Čelakovského v Praze [Correspondence and Notes of F. L. Čelakovský in Prague] (Prague, 1907, 1909), Rybička, pp. 138-140, 169-173.

On the contrary, Čelakovský, like Mácha, his famous contemporary, tried to avoid effusive romanticism and to evolve a poetic form out of the natural Bohemian environment.¹ Čelakovský's language became more idiomatic and was enriched by new words and phrases from the mouths of the peasant and the townsman. He published a collection of poems known as the Ohlas písní ruských [Echoes of the Russian Songs] (Prague, 1829). Later he followed it by the Ohlas písní českých [Echoes of the Czech Songs] (Prague, 1851). While the former were epical in character, the latter spoke from the heart of a living people and were written in such a manner that they could be understood by those to whom they were addressed. He rebelled against unreality and imitativeness. He and his school established bases to new poetic forms. Love for one's fatherland became something intelligible and genuine, for it adored that ancestry from which the writers sprang, loved the customs and manners of the nation, and strove to preserve all that was native to the people.

Čelakovský's school of poets was large. Of the better known of its members, the following might be noted: Joseph V. Kamaryt, a priest, published a vast collection of old Czech religious songs. Joseph K. Chmelenský added music to the popular poetry and was instrumental in composing the first Czech opera. He attained high standards as a critic of poetry and music. Charles Vinařický, who ended as a canon at Vyšehrad, became known as a poet, a revivalist of power, publisher of books for children and youth and the founder of the Časopis českého duchovenstva [The Periodical of the Czech Clergy] in 1828. Of lesser importance

¹Mácha belongs among the greatest of Czech poets. His revivalist activity, however, rests only in the contribution that he made to Czech poetry and not in any active propagation of the nationalist cause. Cf. Literatura passim. Malý, I, p. 43, Masaryk, Česka Otazka, pp. 117-122.

were Charles Snyder, Vacek Kamenický, and Venceslaus Písek. Boleslav Jablonský, Venceslaus Štulec, and Francis Sušil, clergy all, stood on the outskirts of the Čelakovský circle, and composed poetry highly patriotic in character but intended for the general reader and hence rather shallow and pragmatic.

The activity begun by Čelakovský in searching for and collecting Czech folk song was greatly broadened out to include spheres of more general culture and literature by the Bohemian balladist, Charles J. Erben.¹ His life was spent as a collector of folklore, as the editor of historical texts and documents, and as a poet. While Erben resembled Čelakovský in many respects, his work showed greater intensity, and the many ballads which he composed were in truth psychological studies of tribal differences among the Slavs. His appreciation of art inclined him towards a portrayal of characters and natures typically native. Erben as a poet stood midway between the writers of the early nineteenth century, still searching for words and forms and the school of modern Bohemian literature. After having published much critical and collective work on the Bohemian folklore,² he culminated his poetic efforts by a literary masterpiece in the Kytice [The Nosegay] (Prague, 1853), a collection of ballads the themes of which came from various Slavonic legends and a number of which possessed such merit that they have been set to music. In his role as a scholar, Erben published the Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae (Prague, 1855), translated Nestor's Russian Annals (Prague, 1850) and edited a number of older chronicles and books on medieval Czech history.

¹Brandl, V., Erben, (Prague, 1887). Literatura, II, pp. 808-828.

²Písně národní v Čechách [Bohemian National Songs], (2 vols.) (Prague, 1842, 1845) and others with proper commentaries.

The dramatic activity in the Bohemian theatre, halted by the Napoleonic Wars, was taken up again after 1820.¹ The theatre established by the estates for a time refused to present Czech plays, so that all theatrical enterprise depended on stock companies and the productions of amateurs. In 1824, thanks to the efforts of its assistant director, J. N. Štěpánek, the theatre of the estates had again accepted Bohemian plays, and until the thirties the latter had progressed encouragingly. Dramatic criticism found its representative in J. K. Chmelenský, and several talented actors appeared. When the theatre of the estates once more began to lag in producing Bohemian dramas, a number of Czech actors, led by the dramatist J. K. Tyl, had opened up a small show-house in a rented building. Their success made it possible to erect a place of their own where performances were given regularly. In 1844 an agitation was set on foot to establish a Czech theatre which might act as a permanent representative of Bohemian dramatic skill. The Diet became interested in the project and promised to foster it. Some of the nobles thought an annual subsidy of 5,000 guildens might be obtained from the government. On April 8, 1845 the estates took up the question under the sponsorship of Count Deym. Only a part of the motion, however, was carried. The theatre received a concession for fifty years, but its support was relegated to private subscriptions. By 1850 Czech dramatics had grown to such a degree that a firm basis was henceforth laid to the art. Later the nation erected a splendid National Theatre in Prague from the contribution of the whole people.

Dramatic art had not received the same attention in the

¹Subrt, F., *Národní divadlo v Praze* (The National Theatre of Prague) (Prague, 1881), Malý, I, pp. 46-49, 81-82, Teuber, O., *Geschichte des Prager Theatres*, (2 vols.) (Prague, 1883-1888).

romantic revival as the other phases of the latter. As in the days of the Enlightenment, the earlier nineteenth century depended upon the imitation of foreign models and lived to a great part on the translation of German works. Yet the theatre did not escape the nationalist enthusiasm and fervor that moved all things. Dramatic literature, too, had found its text in patriotism and in the love for Bohemian history. It cultivated the language and presented the daily life of the lower classes in all its native humor. Two dramatists of note appeared during the time, Venceslaus Klicpera¹ and his pupil, Joseph K. Tyl.² Klicpera imitated the German historical and romantic drama in several plays, on the one hand, and on the other, spent much time in portraying the contemporaneous Czech life with its somewhat crude fun but sincerity and childlike simplicity. Tyl wrote dramas designed to stir up patriotic sentiment and to confirm the feeling of national self-consciousness. In the lighter form of his drama he produced many charming plays, like Klicpera's, full of homely humor and life but deeply imbued with the fantastic and supernatural. As dramatists neither of the two excelled in literary ability; their significance rather rested in revivalistic effort and in the romantic enthusiasm for their country, her traditions, and her history.

Both Tyl and Klicpera had also essayed the writing of historical novels, such as those written by Sir Walter Scott. Their novels dwelt upon the past and gleaned their material from old chronicles and oral traditions handed down through the ages.

¹Literatura, passim.

²Malý, pp. 44-46, J. Máchal, Dějiny českého dramatu [The History of Czech Drama] (Prague, 1917), O. Fischer, K dramatu [On the Drama]. (Prague, 1919), J. L. Turnovský, Zivot a doba J. K. Týla [Biography and Times of J. K. Tyl] (Prague, 1892).

Their early productions were tales of knightly valor, of harrowing adventures, and of mystical and supernatural life. Practice and broader conceptions, however, introduced new types, established on an imaginative presentation and a real comprehension of historical facts. As in the case of the drama, the novels had a profound revivalist importance. In style, however, they became the danger signals for pitfalls in diction and phraseology to be avoided by succeeding authors. John A. Marek and Procopius Chocholoušek became the more important of Tyl's colleagues in novel writing. Most of their work was printed in a contemporary literary magazine, the Paleček [Tomthumb], edited by F. Rubeš.

The romantic revival was represented in the field of science by the work of John Presl, John E. Purkyňe, and Adalbert Sedláček.¹ The first, a botanist, was bent on nationalizing scientific research. In his writing in the field of botany he abandoned Latin and German for the use of Czech. He also strove to educate the craftsman by editing the short-lived Časopis technologicky [The Journal of Technology] (1837-1839).² Purkyňe, a physiologist of international fame, did not restrict the writing of his articles to Czech since they had a general medical importance. Still, he engaged in the Czechization of science by helping to establish the journal Krok [The Step] (1821-1840) and another physiological magazine. Purkyňe translated a number of foreign literary masterpieces, wrote many of his works in Bohemian, encouraged every branch of literature and attempted even to establish

¹For Presl read: Rybička, Passim, Malý, I, p. 54. On Purkyňe, E. Rádl, O Přírodní filosofii Purkyňova [On the Natural Philosophy of Purkyňe] in Česká Mysl [Czech Thought], II, 1901, Novák and Novák, pp. 135-137, J. Teige, Autobiografie Purkyňova [The Autobiography of Purkyňe] (Prague, 1920). On Sedláček, Rybička, pp. 289-314.

²Malý, I, p. 60, describes the connections that Presl sought to establish with the small shop keeper and gildsman.

a school of philosophy. A lesser light in the Bohemian scientific world was Adalbert Sedláček, whose fame rested on developing a Czech terminology for physics and mathematics.

The effort of the literary and cultural romanticism found an increasing sympathetic response in the ranks of the lower classes. The revival, which in 1830 was fifty years old, constantly gained in momentum. In spite of the repressive attitude of the government, which saw liberalism and revolution in nationalism, the Czech priesthood and the schoolmasters became the center of popular revival and national activity. The former class, especially, had to make great sacrifices to the cause, for the Emperor had established a firm union with the papal curia for the purpose of suppressing any disturbances or changes in the State. In spite of the administrative precautions, the Bohemian Catholic clergy, barring those of the highest rank, who usually were German, encouraged boldness of thought and national ideals. The best of priests were mustered into service of the revival, and their work shed glory upon the Church. Among the bravest who influenced the reawakening was B. Bolzano. He was persecuted by the authorities but never ceased to defend the ideals which he stated as early as 1809, saying: "In whatever great things an individual wants to function, he must be led not only a cool rationalism but also by an intelligent passion. If we wish to sacrifice ourselves to the services of our land, what will better assist our desire than a passionate love for the same In order that our nation might believe in all of this, it is necessary that we acquaint ourselves with the history of the past ages and with the great acts of our forefathers."¹ There were many priests

¹Denis, II, pp. 146-147. On Bolzano read Durdík, J., O filozofii a činnosti B. Bolzana [The Philosophy and Activity of B. Bolzano] (Prague, 1881).

who, though not as bold as Bolzano, believed in and cherished these thoughts. In nearly every village the parish priest preached loyalty and patriotism to the nation.¹ Many of them also lent their labors to Panslavism. Congregations were supplied with Bohemian libraries, and many a parson peddled Czech books. Among the schoolmasters much of the same fervor prevailed. While the educational authorities very strictly supervised their teaching forces, the instructors both in the city and the country schools gave much of their spare time to propagandist work. Almost every school-teacher wrote short pieces of verse and stories. He became, indeed, the educational center of his adult patrons; he collected the folklore, relics, and traditions of the countryside, so as to preserve them for the coming generations. The inns, too, resounded in the evening with political and national discussions led by the priest, the teacher, and some of the more intelligent listeners.

In the cities, where intimacy was less possible, the patriots worked through periodicals and by propaganda. The city life inclined towards the German. In order to defeat this circumstance, the Bohemian nationalists formed small coteries of friends who would walk in the streets or sit in the cafés talking Bohemian loudly enough to attract attention of their entire neighborhood. That their efforts met with little success at first is recorded by such contemporaries as Malý, who says that up to the Revolution of 1848 only maids and laborers spoke Bohemian and that in better society everybody avoided the language.² Yet, apparently, even this fact did not discourage the patriots. This time it was Tyl, the dramatist, who found the remedy for the trouble. Realizing

¹Malý, I, pp. 30-31, 80-81.

²Malý, I, p. 7-9.

that the low and the high loved Czech plays, he conceived the plan of giving what he called "patriotic balls and receptions." The first of these affairs, which Týl and his co-workers determined to make very exclusive and elaborate, was held in February, 1840, at Prague.¹ It was a huge success. Strangely enough, the aristocrats and the middle classes, when they were gathering for the occasion, discovered that they possessed sufficient Czech vocabulary for the needs of social intercourse.² When the summer came, the receptions were held on the delightful islands of the Moldau River, and, instead of waning in popularity, they became so exclusive and fashionable that only selected guests, largely of the upper groups, were granted admission.³

The success of the balls and other endeavors of a similar patriotic nature, inspired the Czechs, but at the same time called forth renewed attacks from the German and other hostile camps. The focus point of anti-Czech antagonism was provided by the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung and Die Grenzboten,⁴ which frequently ridiculed the Bohemians and disparaged their efforts. Contrary to expectations, the effect of the attacks was stimulating. Interest in things national and the greater use of Bohemian in general served as best retorts to the attacks. The consciousness of a common goal after the thirties became responsible for the organization of social clubs and societies. So began the "Kěstanská Beseda"

¹The success of the ball in Prague had its sequel in Vienna where in 1847 a Slavonic reception was held, bringing together about 2,000 people and some visitors of very high rank. Denis II, 223-227, Malý, I, 63.

²Havlíček, writing of the ball held in 1847, while wondering in his usual sarcastic way why more Bohemian is not spoken at the balls, nevertheless praises the occasion, adding that it was graced by the Archduke Stephen, the Imperial Administrator of Bohemia. He adds that many Germans of Prague were guests, willing to learn Czech, because of the good Czech food that was served at the ball. Pražské Noviny [Prague News], January 23, 1846.

³Malý, I, 63-64.

⁴Ibid., I, 84.

[The Civic Club], organized in Prague during 1846. This association, later imitated in the smaller cities and towns of Bohemia, became the center of the intelligentsia and served the purpose of nationalist propaganda in the middle classes. Educational courses and public lectures were a part of its program, and in spite of strict police vigilance, a considerable amount of discussion went on.¹ Similar organizations were founded by the lower classes in many of the cities. One of these grew noteworthy particularly for its social and political agitation. This was the "Repeal"², called after the Irish slogan of the time, which owed its existence to the growing political tension in Europe and in whose halls plans were formulated for the moment when the liberation of the Continent from the reactionary régime should arrive. As a society the Repeal had a radical character; its nature, however, must not be compared with that of similar organizations established elsewhere in Europe, for the Bohemian working groups were still too weak and uneducated for the assumption of any major part in a political and social program.

As regards Germanization and its propagation through the schools, only slight advance in face of the vast nationalist activity had been made to 1848.³ During and somewhat after the Napoleonic Wars, the government receded from its ultra-Germanizing policy in the schools, revoked some of the legislation relative to the teaching of German in the lower grades, and allowed instruction of Bohemian in the gymnasia. It likewise did not object strenuously to the establishment of private institutions for the teaching of Czech. In government and legal matters, however, the Court continued to use German exclusively.

¹Ibid., I, 87-88.

²Ibid., I, 84-85

³For school affairs see: Malý, I, 50-53; Šolc, J., Narodnost, (Prague, 1881) 339-348; Denis, II, 135-140.

Czech schools from 1815 to 1848 suffered from the same repressive attitude of the administration as all other things in the state. Everything was done to discourage initiative on the part of the students. University men were treated as children, the object of their training being to acquire a spirit of obedience and conservatism. Their individuality must be curbed. "Hold on to the old," Francis told them. "That is best, and our forefathers had always fared well with it."¹ In the selection of candidates for office it was not scholarly qualification that determined the appointment, but quality of docility and political affiliation. The police supervised the professors not only in their work but even in their private life. The conditions in the elementary schools became so deplorable that the "Society of the Museum" decided to send a petition to the Ruler in order that the situation might receive his notice. This document pictured the negligence with which both the Czech and the German were treated. Proofs showed that the pupils were poorly taught and that their instruction suffered by a lack of text-books. Many students going to higher schools found it a trial to talk German to their teachers because of a wretched preliminary preparation. Since German was taught inadequately and Czech had been neglected, the pupils often lacked a medium for expression. Bohemian students were discouraged from studying their mother tongue unless their motives were practical.² The use of Czech for conversation in the secondary schools was forbidden. Those professors who were willing to teach the language after

¹Denis, II, 139.

²Occasionally, as by the Act of August 23, 1816, or the Act of February 13, 1818, students in Czech schools intending to enter government service, medicine or the priesthood were encouraged to take Bohemian. This study, barring a few instances, was to be carried on as an extra subject and preferably after school hours. To meet the demands of the students for a text, Jungmann wrote a grammar of Bohemian which was approved by the government but was not to be considered as a regular school text.

school hours were ridiculed and considered fanatics. Any study of Dobrovský's Slavonic philological treatises branded one as a Russo-phile and a suspect.

That the Austrian government was fully bent on Germanization of the schools became evident from its general query as to whether German should be taught exclusively in the elementary schools.¹ The question was taken up by the Czech clergy, who had a large share of responsibility in the educational system.² For purposes of debate they divided it into two parts: first, was it advisable to crowd Bohemian out of common schools and to substitute German for it entirely? Secondly, would it be better to include German as a required subject only in the curriculum of the elementary instruction? It was argued that if the first alternative be put into practice, then the act would constitute a betrayal of the Bohemian rights and constitution and would mean a sure death of the tongue. For its own interest, Austria must preserve the various languages of her nations, since these were the real pillars of the Empire. Many praised the second proposition, for a better understanding would then obtain between the German and the Czech elements in the Hapsburg lands. But if Czech pupils must study German, why not have the Germans study Czech? In the course of the discussion, complaints were again made of the difficulties encountered by the poor instruction in both languages. Examples were furnished of officers in the army who spoke poor Bohemian, of faulty translations of legal documents and proceedings, and of the fact that the common classes had no redress of grievances, as they could not present their case in intelligible German. Regardless

¹It should be remembered that there was a slight retrogression during the reign of Francis I from the Germanizing tendencies introduced into the elementary schools during the time of Joseph II.

²Discussed in Šolc, 342.

of the protests and suggestions no change in these conditions obtained until the second half of the nineteenth century.

The financial bankruptcy that practically wrecked the State in 1811 had left for a long time its distressing effects on the Austro-Hungarian provinces. Though the Government had endeavored to establish a sound economic basis by founding the National Bank of Vienna, 1816, and the Provincial Bank in Prague, 1825, the peasants still suffered from heavy taxes, only further aggravated by the excessive demands of their lords. In many cases the manorial dues consumed one-half of the gross receipts and the state taxes from eleven to twenty-four per cent.¹ The laboring classes were even worse off. While manufacturing increased and certain classes waxed rich thereby, the benefit of this industrial development did not aid the workman at all. He had no laws to save him from the rapacity of his employer, and the usual troubles that accompanied the changes made by the industrial revolution all over the Continent were also his own. Long hours of work, unsanitary conditions, crowded towns and excessive competition from women and children burdened the Czech workingman.² The former craftsmen and guild masters found life miserable through unfair competition in the large industries. Strangely, the government itself set serious obstacles in the path of the former gildsmen by refusing to license new industrial establishments, for fear that these would bring new opportunities to the people and encourage them in resistance to

¹Denis, II, 257-8. Cf. K. Krofta, Přehledné dějiny selského stavu [An Historical Outline of the Peasant Class] (Prague, 1919).

²The decretal of 1842, ordering children under twelve to work not more than twelve hours a day was opposed stubbornly by the manufacturers.

For the working classes see: Malý, I, 59-60, 85. Cf. C. Horáček, "Počátky českého hnutí dělnického" [The Origins of the Bohemian Worker's Movement]; Rozpravach Akademie české [The Discussions of the Czech Academy] V, no. 3 (Prague, 1897).

the blind despotism of the court.¹ As a result of this, Bohemian industry remained in the hands of a few manufacturing barons who, because of a lack of competition, produced mediocre goods at high prices and cut the wages of their employees to the bone.²

In administration no really important or vast changes occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century.³ The stagnation of the Metternich regime fully permeated Bohemia, save for minor regulations in local government. Order and preservation of a patriarchal enlightened despotism were enforced by the police and secret service. The general civil code of laws, established in 1811, paved the way for a united state citizenship and brought judicial equality to all peoples. In Bohemia the Diet had fallen into a lethargy, indifferent to all things. In administration it had no weight, and its meetings were merely assemblies to sanction legislation that the government might condescend to submit to it. Except for the power to determine its own membership, it had no other token of its former separate status. The reign of Francis, which ended in the quiet of a stifling political atmosphere, was followed by that of Ferdinand I, a feeble-minded individual, who took his father's advice not to tamper with the bases of the State and who thus retained its administrative organization intact. In 1836 he was crowned in Bohemia. This, the last coronation of a Hapsburg in Prague, was a false, meaningless ceremony intended to cover the fact that by this time Bohemia was rather an administrative province of Austria than a separate kingdom. Ferdinand gave full powers to Metternich, in whom age had only confirmed his ear-

¹"In Austria, too, the manufacturing spirit is in a torpid condition. . . . Our manufacturers care but little to make themselves known in foreign countries . . ." Metternich to Francis, November 3, 1817, Memoirs, III, 106.

²Malý, I, 60. Pekař, 123.

³Pekař, 123-124.

lier reactionary tendencies and his theories of fatalism. The Chancellor's doctrines built upon a system of autocratic centralization, were gradually proving inadequate to the needs of the Empire. While the provincial nationalism everywhere had grown apace and asked for a re-organization in the form of a federal union, he had continued his practices, since he was unable to understand the dissatisfaction that was threatening to wreck the foundations of the Empire.¹

The Revolution of 1830 which had cut short the march of reaction in the West had a faint but, nevertheless, determined stimulus in the Austrian lands. For one thing, it bolstered the spirit of nationalism. In Bohemia, the heroes of other nations became the objects of admiration and their behavior a model for Czech action in the future. With the Polish Revolution, a new relationship began between the Bohemians and their cousins, the Russians and Poles. Russophilism suffered a jolt, for the younger generation in Bohemia sympathized with the Poles in their endeavors to shake off the Russian yoke. It was at this time that Mickiewicz presented the case of his people before the nations of Europe had attempted to win the feelings of the Bohemians and of the Austrian Slavs in general. The effects of the Italian agitation, both in the fields of nationalism and liberalism, found echoes in Bohemia. The result of these influences grew in the Czech national propaganda which became almost a religion and took on the aspects of early Christian proselytism. Well could Mickiewicz say of the Bohemians: "They use all methods to reach their aim, seek for aid

¹About 1840 a number of pamphlets were published, the most important of which was Oesterreich und dessen Zukunft. Baron Andrian-Werburg, its author, clamored for the downfall of despotism, which was rather helpless than despotic.

in all languages, writing in Latin, German, Polish and even French. . . . They endeavor to reveal the part played by the Slavs before all of civilized Europe. They occupy the position of a mediator among the Slavs, trying to bring them together to an understanding of one another and to some agreement. They translate Polish poetry for the Serbian, the Serbian songs for the German, and, gathering relics and remnants of ancient Slav existence in Europe, they issue Latin publications about them for all of the Continent. . . . What especially characterizes them is their objective spirit. . . . They do not merely give the world poets and scientists, but present it with a group of scholars and philologists."¹

It took the example of the Hungarian Diet and estates to awaken the Czech nobles to the political and social indifference into which they let themselves drift during the first forty years of the nineteenth century.² The discontent of the Magyar magnates, dating back to 1825, was not reflected in the Bohemian Diet till well after 1840. Furtive attempts began in this direction in 1842, when the Czech estates, stimulated by the growing autocracy of the Court's representatives in Bohemia, essayed some independent legislation. Various domestic laws and ordinances were hurried through its sessions and voices of anger were heard at all meetings. From this time, the Diet organized a campaign to regain some of its old class rights and soon found itself in a war against the absolute powers of Vienna. Its effort was readily supported by the nationalist commoner, who, having no voice of his own, identified his cause with that of the estates.

¹Máchal, "Čechy a Mickiewicz", Čes. Čas. Hist., IV, (1899) 382.

²A good discussion of the position of the Czech nobles is found in Kalousek, 529-547, Malý. I, 65, 90, A. Helfert, "Leo Thun." Oesterr. Jahrbucher, X (1891), Springer, A., Geschichte Oesterreichs (Leipsig, 1863-65) I, 509-549.

Though the Diet had determined on action, it was perplexed as to the method of its procedure and its demands on the Court. Desiring some guidance, a few of its members, led by Count F. Deym, suggested the appointment of Palacký as a lecturer to the Diet. Palacký in his acceptance traced briefly the history of the Bohemian nobles, touched upon the origins of Austrian absolutism and ended with an opinion on the course which the nobles might take. The difference between the old and the new Czech constitution, he said, was simply the fact that the central authority of the state, too weak before the reign of Ferdinand II, had grown to be all powerful after him. He separated Bohemian constitutional history into three historical periods; first, the primitive Slav constitutional era, existing up to the accession of Otokar II (1253), second, the age of feudalism enduring to 1620, third, the time of absolutism begun with Ferdinand II and continuing to the present (1843). He considered Czech feudalism an inevitable and in most respects a benevolent importation.¹ Absolutism, introduced by Ferdinand II, succeeded it. The King availed himself of the new inventions and the growth of commerce, trade and industry, and broke down the power of the feudal lord. Feudal nobility passing, its place was occupied by a court aristocracy.

The time, however, has come in the Hapsburg lands when "absolutism has not only reached its climax but when, indeed, it has overstepped it. By the simple operation of the law of polarity, overpowering absolutism has stimulated an opposing force, that of public opinion." The progress of civilization is bound to develop the latter which in turn will stimulate nationalism. "All of this explanation," concluded Palacký, "I found necessary in order to prove that the resurrection of any feudal rights on

¹Palacký to Deym, December 27, 1846, Spisy, I, 4-7.

the part of the estates (there were many nobles who demanded a return to feudal principles) is impossible. The Czech lords who again desired to become factors in political life must rely upon one of the following three principles: absolutism, now existing in opposition to public opinion, public opinion, which continues to grow as an opponent of absolutism, or nationalism which, though a product of the latter two forces, remains, as it were, a neutral power between its two progenitors."¹ The letter concluded with advice to the nobles to adopt the last force which is the easiest and most expedient in view of the rising consciousness among the Czechs.

Continuing its movement of protest, the Diet of 1843 suggested an examination and compilation of the old prerogatives of the estates, so that a distinct boundary might be drawn between the rights of the lords and the functions exercised by imperial officials stationed in the country. The next year the Czech estates presented a list of grievances in passing the budget. In 1845, a delegation of fourteen members arrived at Vienna to protest against its encroachment on their rights. The leader of this delegation, Count Thun, boldly asserted that the rights demanded by his committee were not to be considered as special grants of the Court but simply as reclamations of powers that had been taken away from them in the stress of other times. The Court ordered the delegation to draw up a list of what it considered these privileges were, and accordingly a committee, comprising Counts Lažanský, Deym, and Jostic and the Knight of Neuberg, compiled the so-called Deductions and endeavored to prove the legal continuity of the constitutional rights and powers of the Czech estates. Their findings showed principally that the noble class had been

¹The quotations given in this paragraph are from Palacký's letter to Deym in Spisy, I, 4-7.

granted certain privileges by the Amended Statute of 1627 and that every Czech King was obliged to swear to their maintenance in his coronation.

The relations of the Government and the estates were severed in the first months of 1846. The break rose over an additional tax that the Court wanted to use for the establishment of new courts of justice. The estates complained that they had not been consulted in the revision of the imperial code and that they did not feel obliged to contribute toward institutions that were to be a part of the Austrian central régime. When the Diet in its sessions balked at the grant of payment, Ferdinand sent it a message demanding the money. After encountering a second refusal, he instructed the imperial revenue authorities to collect the funds by force if necessary. This order irritated the nobles who now turned to a full support of the Czech national party, whose demands under the influence of the times, had grown from hypothetical deductions to a relatively firm program. As early as 1845 Count Thun had expressed the desirability of this union in which the estates were to lead.¹ In the Deductions of 1847, the nobles identified themselves with the nation at large and followed Palacký's advice to them by emphasizing the theory that, when the rights of the Diet were in question, the entire being of the country was at stake.

With the forties also began the popular agitation for greater political and social recognition of the Czech nation.² Indeed, the augmenting political consciousness of the people stimulated the bold position assumed by the nobles. Many forces brought

¹Thun in a speech of May 14, 1845, said: "Let the estates hold fast to their rights and privileges that they may preserve their dignity before all of the kingdom and their position that belongs to them as the representatives of the nation." Kalousek, 549.

²Malý, I, 89-94.

on the movement. On the one hand, there existed the patriotic and liberal strivings of other nations. On the other, there was the continually increasing desire of the German element in Bohemia for a union with its brethren in the North; this desire grew more insistent since Prague of late was becoming the center for the propagandist activity of the Pole, the Serb and the liberal Russian. The abyss forming between the two classes prompted the Czechs to take to a defensive position for fear that they might be engulfed by the Germans. As the strongest factor, however, there was the cultural and lingual revival, which was restoring the faded tints of Czech historical tradition with new colors, creating a solid historical background for all contemporary political demands, and inspiring the folk with a love for their native language. Yet all the revivalist literature up to 1840 had avoided politics or political issues. It was not until after the publication of Meissner's Žiska and Hartmann's Bohemian Elegies, both in German but with a thoroughly Czech spirit and liberalist style, that political yearnings and wishes were incorporated with literary efforts quite openly. A new generation which had already conceived the plan of constitutional and social reform appeared in literature. Foreign books, journals and brochures were smuggled into Bohemia from German democratic circles. Equality before the law, legislative assemblies, freedom of press and speech were joined to the demands for a national recognition. The very character of the nation was changing. Over the present status of political life represented by the estates a nation was rising whose chief components were the educated middle classes, the workingmen and the peasants, who, as it was believed, were after all the foremost and only representatives of the Bohemian state.

The agitation of the pre-revolutionary days found naturally its expression in a different type of literature, the cultural revivalist effort propagated heretofore. From the traits of the abstract, imaginative revival of Romanticism there was a return to the actual and the realistic. Poetry, prose and journalism became practical in their dealing with actualities and the needs of the people. Nationalism, until now a nebulous, uncertain quality and a happy source of theme for the romantic writer, grew into a medium through which definite social and political demands might be formulated. Much of Czech life was marked by energetic action and cool, rational thought. The editorial, the epigram and the satire prevailed in literature, represented by such men as Charles Havlíček, the journalist, John Koubek, Venceslaus Nebeský, Siegfried Kapper and Charles Sabina, poets, whose productions attacked those who had been enemies of Czech nationalism and whose public activity strove to broaden the Bohemian intellectual horizon by spreading new cultural and political thoughts which were then originating on the Continent. The soul of the peasant and his troubles were revealed by the George Eliot of Bohemia, Božena Němcová, who besides her literary work represented also the character of Czech womanhood during the Revolution of 1848.¹

Of the men who served the pre-revolutionary efforts from 1845 to 1848 most efficiently, the names of Palacký and Havlíček stood foremost. While Palacký's national agitation after his coming to Prague was greatly modulated by his obligations to the estates, he, nevertheless, remained the teacher of his people and deserved special merits for his theory that political independence

¹On Němcová: V. Tille, "B. Němcová" in Zlatoroh Library Vols. V-VIII (Prague, 1920), V. Vávra, B. Němcová (Prague, 1895), Malý, I, 70.

was an indispensable prerequisite for national freedom. Following the ideals of Kant, he considered the State a protector of its individuals and component parts: therefore, as a guardian rather than as a master of society.¹ It had no leave to encroach upon individual or natural rights of its members and existed as long as it was guided by the principles of right and justice, briefly summarized in "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. Every type of superiority, special privilege and oppression which is not naturally and necessarily postulated by the genuine needs of a State is no less than a denial or negation of right and becomes an injustice and wrongdoing."² His doctrine of historical right that every nation has an inherent privilege to maintain its customs, traditions, history and language, and to cultivate and propagate them, awakened the Czechs and won them sympathizers among the Slavs and even in the ranks of the nobles. He condemned the spirit of despotism and intolerance and could not see how one state might prosper by oppressing another.³ Nations progressed only by an action and reaction upon one another.⁴ For that reason his History did not segregate the Bohemians but showed them as a part of the vast cultural and political development of the entire Continent. What had been true in the past was to be valid for the whole future. Palacký by nature and conviction was an aristocrat.⁵ He considered the common class crude and ignorant and wanted to

¹Palacký, to Deym, December 27, 1846. Spisy, I, 6.

²Palacký, "O centralizaci a národní rovnoprávnosti" [On centralization and National Equality] Spisy, I, 114.

³Ibid., 112-115.

⁴This principle is the thesis underlying all of the History.

⁵For this trait he was much criticized. Many of the patriots--some even as well known as Jungmann, Hanka and others--never quite fully felt that Palacký belonged to their set. His contacts were with the nobles entirely, and his marriage to the daughter of Dr. Měchura, a rich bourgeois, seemed to alienate him from very many national leaders, who naturally led, for the most

place the reins of government in the hands of the nobles, who because of their best interests were created to be the guardians of public right. In his trust in aristocracy, he perhaps erred. His contact had always been with the most sincere men of that group, with whose qualities he invested the entire caste. The selfishness of the nobles escaped him, and the belief that the nation could only depend on those who had something to lose blinded him completely to actual facts.

Havlíček's contribution to the pre-revolutionary days was founded on his development of the newspaper as a decisive factor in the formation of public opinion.¹ In the first years of the century journalism played but a minor part in Bohemia politically. Popular propagators of national ideals presented their teachings in pamphlets alone. A great number of these, printed for the most part in Germany, discovered their subject in the decadence of the Government and in the suggestion of methods by which the reactionary burden might be thrown off. They were the first, also, to present the fundamental points of the Bohemian political and social program and considered rather completely the questions of

part, a life of poverty and misery.

¹K. Havlíček had published the following journals and periodicals: Pražské Noviny [Prague News], January, 1846, to April, 1848; Česká Včela [The Czech Bee], 1846-1848; Národní Noviny [The National News], April, 1848, to January, 1850; Sotek [The Sprite] as a supplement to Nár. Nov., January to March of 1849; Slovan [The Slav], a magazine devoted to political and public Slavic affairs, especially the Czech from May, 1850, to August, 1851.

Havlíček, Duch Národní Novin [The Spirit of the National News] (Prague, 1906); Epistoly Kutnohorské [The Kutna Hora Epistles] (Prague, 1906); Belletrie [Belles Lettres] (Prague, 1906); L. Quis, Korespondence K Havličce [The Correspondence of K. Havlíček] (Prague, 1903); Z. Tobolka, Karla Havličce Politické Spisy [The Political Papers of K. Havlíček] (Prague, 1900); K. Tuma, Vybrané spisy K. Havličce [The Selected Writings of K. Havlíček] (Prague, 1886); K. Tuma, K. Havlíček Borovský [C. Havlíček Borovský] (Prague, 1883); T. G. Masaryk, Karel Havlíček (Prague, 1904); Malý, I, 68-69, Literatura, III, 538-669, 670-720. There are further numerous minor contributions on the life of Havlíček, several notable ones being in the various issues of the Čes. Čas. Hist.

nationality, language and equality of the Slav with the German and the Magyar in the Empire. In brief, they outlined the means by which the powerful sense of nationalism, as it had existed before the downfall of Bohemia in 1618, should be revived.¹

While Palacký worked with the nobles and hoped to win the salvation of the people through their co-operation, Havlíček adopted the democratic point of view in leading the upper and lower middle classes. He addressed his editorials and articles invariably to the masses, and limited his affiliations with foreign news-publishers and publicists to non-nobles.² There was something independent in the makeup of Havlíček. He was a realist, ready to cope with immediate situations and to apply to them solutions suitable at the moment. He had but slight use for historical sense and for the past. The present meant all, for from its component parts and qualifications plans for the future would be decided. Contemporaries, therefore, and living events were more vital than scholarly deductions from historical data, which only remotely furthered natural progress. Havlíček's attitude showed that he firmly believed in the endurance of the fittest, since he considered that the Czechs as a nation could not survive by begging sympathy or pointing to their past glories. Their national recognition lay in what they now represented. An intelligent mind, cultural equality with any nation in the Hapsburg Empire, dignity, certainty of one's self, knowledge of contemporary politics and a colossal degree of bravery and self-assertion were the necessary prerequisites that every Czech must possess.

¹J. Heidler, "Čechy a Rakousko v politických brožurách předbřeznových" [Bohemia and Austria in the Pre-March Pamphlets], *Čes. Čas. Hist.*, XXV, (1920).

²Havlíček, *Duch Národní Novin*, August 29, 1849.

Havlíček's brilliant mind, which analysed penetratingly all national progress, definitely rejected many of the views of opinions held by the romanticists of the first half of the century. His most vehement objections fell upon the Panslavic ideal and upon the Russian aid. In an article appearing in the Prague News, 1846, he well illustrated his position towards Panslavism by saying "that a few years ago every one of the Czechs called himself a Slav. He was ashamed of such a trite name as a Czech, a Moravian, a Silesian or a Slovak. Everyone, long before knowing Bohemian, attempted to learn the Russian, the Polish and other Slav languages. To be sure, he did not know much about them; yet he read their literature with a serious mien and frequently translated Slav works into horrible Czech."¹ Havlíček himself was guilty of this practice, for in his university days he studied the Slav languages, translated them and wrote verse in them after the fashion of Slávy Dcéra.² His fervor for things Slavonic, indeed, grew so absorbing that he visited Poland and Russia in January, 1843. His motive was fraternization, but he returned disgusted with what he found. "The winter and other things Russian had extinguished the last sparks of Slav love in me," he confesses, "I never had nurtured cosmopolitanism . . . and so I returned to Prague a Czech, just a plain, stubborn Bohemian, with a sort of secret bitterness against the very name Slav. . . . In short, I had formulated for myself definite ideas concerning Slavdom and my own Bohemian nationality. . . . To those who persist in propagating the Slavonic ideal . . . I express my firm opinion that the Slavs, that is, the Russians, the Poles, the Czechs and others are not a united nation. . . . Who ever thought of speaking of a

¹Havlíček, Kutná Hora Epistles, 39.

²Ibid.

romance nation? Just as the Germans, the Danes, the Swedes and the Dutch call themselves Germanic nations, so we, the Poles, the Illyrians, the Russians and others of the Slavonic group are Slav nations, and the term Slav must remain a geographic and scientific term and must not be used as the name of sympathy and brotherly feeling with which each nation expresses its name."¹

Havlíček maintained that there was a greater difference between the Slavic nations than between those of the Latin group if one took into consideration all things cultural, religious and educational. Even so closely allied peoples as the Czechs and the Slovaks were really far apart, as was being demonstrated by the efforts of Štúr and Hurban. The Czechs had lost more of their original characteristics than any other Slav nation. Their mode of life had been German and there had existed a danger that the Bohemians might sometimes be called Czech-speaking Germans. For this one reason, the Czechs could not afford to drop contact with the Slavs. It was quite necessary for the Bohemians to use their eastern brethren as founts wherein they might draw indigenous Slavic characteristics. The Czechs could repay these benefits by instructing the Russian or the Poles in the technical and cultural things of the modern civilization. Thus a relationship purely cultural might be established that would be of value to both parties concerned and would not enmesh the Czechs in international matters.

Havlíček, who always poked fun at the German Panslav scare, dismissed the alleged danger of the Slavonic union by saying that "one-half of the Slavs is always fighting the other and seeks to checkmate it by retarding it from any possible advance."²

¹Ibid., see also Havlíček's daily program of his university years where an outline of his Slavonic activities is outlined.

²Havlíček, "The Slav and the Czech", Prague News editorial (1846). Found in Kutná Hora Epistles, 40.

The Slavonic threat to the world "is juvenile and ridiculous in every respect." The Germans need not fear the Czechs as long as the latter are not loyal to themselves. "On every occasion," he says, "we (Czechs) adopt the German nationality without being prompted or invited. . . . Though much improvement has taken place recently, still there are many who delight in Germanization. Many Czechs have not as yet learned to write in Bohemian and many more there are who consider it a distinction not to be able to talk it. We are the greatest enemies of our nationality, and it is not necessary for us to look to Russia or Poland for aid but to cleanse ourselves of old and foul customs and practices."¹

Havlíček had a decided apathy for Russia and gave no harbor to those of his compatriots who desired Russian aid. His Pictures from Russia and the Baptism of St. Vladimir, a highly satirical bit of verse, fully depict the czarist absolute authority that must be repulsive to every soul. Though he disliked the government, Havlíček liked the people. His Gulanjeu [Recreation]² was indicative of both attitudes. On the one hand, he portrayed the buoyant, care-free soul of the peasant and townsman, enjoying themselves at the country fair; on the other, he showed the cruelty and carelessness with which the two were treated by their lords. The Unusual Catechism and The Russians were the climax of his descriptions of Russian autocracy.³ The first was a sample of a catechism learnt by the schoolboys of Russia.⁴ The second was a study again sympathetic to the people but bitterly opposed to the government which is "a régime concocted by foreign evil customs and practices, administered by strangers who have no sympathy for the nation."

¹Ibid.

²Havlíček, Belles Lettres, 51-66.

³Ibid., 94-97, 97-103.

⁴"What obedience is due to the Czar? Obedience in a complete observance of order, privileges and commands." "Is it a

Havlíček used the various articles on Russia and Poland to show how fruitless any reliance on the Slav would be and how poorly calculated were the schemes of those who planned to elevate Bohemia by catering to the Russians. The Czechs must avoid any political co-operation with the North, for Russia as well as Poland were oriental nations lagging behind in civilization and economic and social progress. To accept their aid would be tantamount to inviting autocracy with all its oppression, and the end would be far worse than the beginning. For the Czechs there remained but one sensible attitude, an assumption of a platform of political demands that would be based upon old Bohemian privileges that had fallen into abeyance. Tyranny must be fought by a sword of justice, and that justice could be realized by following these five points. First, the Czechs must use legal protest against all grievances and determine to carry all wrongs to the highest court if necessary. Secondly, they should use the power of the press at home and abroad in stirring up a protest against injustice. Thirdly, they ought to perfect and exercise all ways and means by which a love for truth and a patriotic conviction might be instilled in the masses. Fourthly, they should help and sympathize with those to whom harm was done. Fifthly, they must utilize such agents as will establish a just and permanent stabilization of public affairs. Only peaceful and reasonable ways of progress will help Bohemia to regain its lost position and importance.

By his articles in the Prague and the National News Havlíček had joined the great procession of Czech patriots, who, originating in the days of Joseph II as a small coterie of learned friends, had now been augmented into a mighty stream of national-

duty to serve the Czar? A firm duty, one should not shirk but sacrifice himself wherever it is the will of the ruler." Ibid., 96.

ists gathering its force from all classes of Czech society. The first little group had hardly hoped to see a revival of the people. Its interest, indeed, was solely confined to a study of the philological and cultural remnants of the old Bohemian civilization. Yet antiquarian as this effort was, it brought immediate results by its example. Before the eighteenth century was over, a few loyal Czechs were already combining the findings of the scholars with such scattered indications of national life as still lingered in the country. These inspired popularizers also paid much attention to the cultural activity of the German element in Bohemia, in copying, translating and imitating its literature and through using its contacts with Germany for the purposes of introducing Western political and social ideas into Bohemian life and awakening.

Romanticism came to Bohemia in the twenties of the next century. The new age with its adoration of history and its intense desire to restore and maintain national traditions gave the Czech reawakening new color. National consciousness penetrated farther into the rank and file of the nation. The number of leaders in all cultural fields grew, and the revival no longer confined itself to literary folk but affected men of science, industry and trade. The peasant became the center of attention, for he still possessed the primitive forms of the language, and his customs and life had remained unchanged through the centuries. In order to re-invigorate even more fully the indigenous elements, the leaders of the twenties and thirties initiated the cultivation of Slavonic relationships. These, having been begun to a certain extent by the Slavonic studies of Dobrovský, had received a particular spur in Slovakia during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when such important works as the Slavy Dcera and the Slavonic Antiquities appeared. The Panslavic ideal in Bohemia

reached the status of a religion. Out of Slovakia, but born of Czech émigré ancestry, too came Palacký, the "father of his country" and a historian whose purpose it became to bind the national program with the moral and cultural elevation of the people. His theory of national rights and the patriotic teaching of his followers and contemporaries invigorated the whole revival and propagated the idea of Bohemian individuality among the younger generation.

With the forties, a new generation appeared, quasi-romantic but more inclined to the liberal and democratic ideas of the West. It was no longer content to cultivate literature and Panslavism, but sought to formulate a program of social and political progress. It conceived the nation as a separate national and political entity with sufficient prerogatives to entitle it to that autonomy which the Bohemian Crown Lands enjoyed at the time of their union with the Hapsburgs. The ideas promulgated by the younger set secured not only a fair following among the commoners but also intrigued the nobles sufficiently so that the latter identified their interests for a time, at least, with the middle classes. On the eve of the Revolution of 1848, the entire nation was ready to essay upon the overthrow of the existing Austrian régime when the signal from other dissatisfied elements in the Empire should come. The opportunity arrived in March, 1848. All groups were prepared with their demands and grievances. Only the future held the secret as to which of these would be realized.

